1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

LEGENDS, SONGS, AND CUSTOMS OF DARDISTAN,*

(GILGIT, YASIN, HUNZA, NAGYR, CHITRÁL, &C., AND KAFIRISTAN).

I. DARDU LEGENDS, *in Shiná* (the language, with dialectic modifications, of Gilgit, Astor, Guraiz, Chilás, Hódur, Dareyl, Tangir, etc., and the language of historical songs in Hunza and Nagyr).

(Committed to writing for the first time in 1866,
By DR. G. W. LEITNER,
from the dictation of Dards. This race has no written character of its own.)

A.—DEMONS = YATSH [1] (YUECCI ?).

DEMONS are of a gigantic size, and have only *one eye, which is on the forehead.* They used to rule over the mountains and oppose the cultivation of the soil by man. They often dragged people away into their recesses. Since the adoption of the Muhammadan religion, the demons have relinquished their possessions, and only occasionally trouble the believers.

They do not walk by day, but confine themselves to promenading at night. A spot is shown near Astor, at a village called Bulent, where five large mounds are pointed out which have somewhat the shape of huge baskets. Their existence is explained as follows. A Zemindar (cultivator) at Grukôt, a village farther on, on the Kashmir road, had, with great trouble, sifted his grain for storing, and had put it into baskets and sacks. He then went away. The demons came—five in number—carrying huge leather-

* "Dardistan," or the country of the Daradas of Hindu mythology, embraces, in the narrowest sense of the term, the Shiná-speaking countries (Gilgit, &c.); in a wider sense, Hunza, Nagyr, Yasin, and Chitrál; and in the widest, also parts of Kafiristan. (See my "Dardistan," part III.)

[1] "Yatsh" means "bad" in Kashmiri.

1: Leitne L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

539 *Chorus* falls in with "*hai, hai, armán bulbúl*" = "oh, oh, the longing [for the] nightingale!"*

Translation.

After having discharged my usual religious duties in the early morning, I offer a prayer which, oh thou merciful God, accept from thy humble worshipper. [Then, thinking of his beloved.] Her teeth are as white as ivory, her body as graceful as a reed, her hair is like musk. My whole longing is towards you, oh sweet nightingale.

Chorus: Alas, how absorbing this longing for the nightingale.

8. GURAIZI SONGS.

184 This district used to be under Ahmad Shah of Skardo, and has since its conquest by Ghulab Singh come permanently under the Maharajah of Kashmir. Its possession used to be the apple of discord between the Nawabs of Astor and the Rajahs of Skardo. It appears never to have had a real Government of its own. The fertility of its valleys always invited invasion. Yet the people are of Shiná origin and appear much more manly than the other subjects of Kashmir. Their loyalty to that power is not much to be relied upon, but it is probable that with the great intermixture which has taken place between them and the Kashmiri Mussulmans for many years past, they will become equally demoralized. The old territory of Guraiz used in former days to extend up to Kuyam or [834] Bandipur on the Wular Lake. The women are reputed to be very chaste, and Colonel Gardiner told me that the handsomest women in Kashmir came from that district. To me, however, they appeared to be tolerably plain, although rather innocent-looking, which may render them attractive, especially after one has seen the handsome, but sensual-looking, women of Kashmir. The people of Guraiz are certainly very dirty, but they are not so plain as the 184 Chilásis. At Guraiz three languages are spoken: Kash- 197 miri, Guraizi (a corruption of a Shiná dialect), and Pan-

* It is rather unusual to find the nightingale representing the beloved. She is generally "the rose" and the lover "the nightingale."

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

jabi—the latter on account of its occupation by the Maharajah's officials. I found some difficulty in getting a number of them together from the different villages which compose the district of Guraiz, the Arcadia of Kashmir, but I gave them food and money, and after I got them into a good humour they sang:

GURAIZI HUNTING SONG.

Guraizi.	*English.*
Pere, tshaké, gazàri meyáru = Beyond, look! a fine stag.	Look beyond! what a fine stag!
Chorus. *Pére, tshaké, djôk maar âke dey.* = Beyond, look! how he struts!	Chorus. Look beyond! how gracefully he struts.
Pére, tshaké, bhapûri bay bâro = Beyond, look! shawl wool 12 loads.	Look beyond! he bears twelve loads of wool.
Chorus. *Pére, tshaké, djôk maar-âke dey.* = Beyond, look! how he does strut!	Chorus. Look beyond! how gracefully he struts.
Pére, tshaké, dôni shilélu = Beyond, look! [his] teeth are of crystal [glass]	Look beyond! his very teeth are of crystal.
Chorus. *Pére, tshaké, djôk maarâke dey.* =	Chorus. Look beyond! how gracefully he struts.

This is apparently a hunting song, but seems also to be applied to singing the praises of a favourite.

There is another song, which was evidently given with great gusto, in praise of Sheir Shah Ali Shah, Rajah of Skardo.* That Rajah, who is said to have temporarily conquered Chitrál, which the Chilasis call Tshatshál,† made a road of steps up the Atsho mountain which overlooks Bûnji, the most distant point reached before 1866 by

* Possibly Ali Sher Khan, also called Ali Shah, the father of Ahmed Shah, the successful and popular Rajah of Skardo in the Sikh days—or else the great Ali Sher Khan, the founder of the race or caste of the Makpon Rajahs of Skardo. He built a great stone aqueduct from the Satpur stream which also banked up a quantity of useful soil against inundations.

† Murad was, I believe, the first Skardo Rajah who conquered Gilgit, Nagyr, Hunza and Chitrál. He built a bridge near the Chitrál fort. Traces of invasion from Little Tibet exist in Dardistan. A number of historical events, occurring at different periods, seem to be mixed up in this song.

1; Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

tribe that inhabits a different valley by a different name. This will be seen in subjoined Extract from my Ethnographical Vocabulary. The name "Dard" itself was not claimed by any of the race that I met. If asked whether they were "Dards" they said "certainly," thinking I mispronounced the word "dáde" of the Hill Panjabi which means "wild" "independent," and is a name given them by foreigners as well as "yaghi," = rebellious [the country is indifferently known as Yaghistan, Kohistan and, since my visit in 1866 as "Dardistan," a name which I see Mr. Hayward has adopted]. I hope the name of Dard will be retained, for, besides being the designation of, at least, *one* tribe, it connects the country with a range known in Hindu mythology and history. However, I must leave this and other disputed points for the present, and confine myself now to quoting a page of Part II. of my "Dardistán" for the service of those whom the philological portion of that work has deterred from looking at the descriptive part.

"SHIN are all the people of Chilâs, Astór, Dareyl or *Darèll*, Gôr, Ghilghit* or *Gilit*. All these tribes do not acknowledge the 'Guraizis,' a people inhabiting the Guraiz valley between Chilâs and Kashmir, as *Shîn*, although the Guraizis themselves think so. The Guraizi dialect, however, is undoubtedly Shiná, much mixed with Kashmiri.

"The Shins† call themselves 'Shîn, Shiná lôk, Shinâki,' and are very proud of the appellation, and in addition to the above-named races include in it the people of Tòrr, Hárben, Sazin, [districts of, or rather near, Chilâs]; Tanyire [Tangir] belonging to Darèll; also the people of Kholi-Palus whose origin is Shîn, but who are mixed with Afghans. Some do not consider the people of Kholi-Palus as Shîn.‡

* The word ought to be transliterated "Gilgit" گلگت and pronounced as it would be in German, but this might expose it to being pronounced as "Jiljit" by some English readers, so I have spelt it here as "Ghilghit."

† In a restricted sense "Shîn" is the name of the highest *caste* of the Shîn *race*. "Róno" is the highest official caste next to the ruling families.

‡ My Sazini says that they are really Shîns, Yashkuns, Dôms and Kramins, but pretend to be Afghans. *Vide* List of Castes, page 62. Kholi-Palus are *two* Districts, Khóli and Palus, whose inhabitants are

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

101 They speak both Shiná and Pukhtu [pronounced by the [197] Shin people 'Postó.'] The Baltis, or Little Tibetans, call the Shin and also the Nagyr people 'Brokhpá,' or, as a term of respect, 'Brokhpá bábo.'* Offshoots of the 'Shin' people live in Little Tibet and even the district of Dras, near the Zojilá pass on the Ladâk road towards Kashmîr, [167] was once Shin and was called by them *Humèss.* I was the first traveller who discovered that there were Shin colonies in Little Tibet, viz.: the villages of Shingôtsh, Sáspur, Brashbrialdo, Bashó, Danàl djúnele, Tâtshin, Dorôt (inhabited by pure Shins), Zungót, Tortzé (in the direction of Rongdu) and Durò, one day's march from Skardo."†

The Chilásis call themselves *Boté.*‡

" " " their fellow-countrymen of Takk = "*Kané*" or *Takke-Kané.*

[the *Matshuké* are now an extinct race, at all events in Dardistan proper.]

The Chilâsis call Gilgitis = *Gilîti.*
" " " Astóris = *Astorîjje.*
" " " Gôrs = *Gorîje.*
" " " Dureylis = *Darêle.*
" " " Baltis = *Palóye.* Gil. = *Polôle.*
" " " Ladáki = *Botì.* Pl. of Bôt.
" " " Kashmiris = *Kashîre.*
" " " Dogras = *Sikkì* [Sikhs] now "Dôgréy."
" " " Afighans = *Patáni.*
" " " Nagyris = *Khadjunì.*
" " " Hunzas = *Hunzîje.*
" " " Yasinis = *Porè.*
" " " Punyalis = *Punyé.*
" " " Kirghiz = *Kirghìz.*

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generally fighting with each other. Shepherds from these places often bring their flocks for sale to Gilgit. I met a few.

* This name is also and properly given by the Baltis to their Dard fellow-countrymen. Indeed the Little Tibetans look more like Dards than Ladákis.

† *Place aux dames!* For six years I believed myself "the discoverer" of this fact, but I find that, as regards Kartakchun in Little Tibet, I have been nearly anticipated by Mrs. Harvey, who calls the inhabitants "Dards," "Dâruds" (or "Dardoos.")

‡ My Sazini calls the people of his own place = Bigé; those of Tórr = *Manuké*, and those of Harbenn = *Jure.*

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

day. We had not seen this before and in our surprise lost more men than perhaps was necessary in defending ourselves. Neither water nor an escape was destined for us; so the remainder consulted about evacuating the place and getting into the hills. At midnight two-thirds of the men, taking the women and children with them, left the Fort and began to fly. The voices of the children roused the blood-thirsty enemy, who, like a wolf, came after the lambs. Some of the Sikhs entered the Fort and killed those they found; when they became exhausted with murdering, they took about 680 men, women and children as prisoners for the Sikh General and 120 were destined for the revenge of Jabar Khan and taken away with their property. The fort was at once set on fire and burnt down. Such property as they could take they did take. As for the fugitives, it was a running slaughter till sunrise, when we reached Kitshóri. Here we rallied and renewed the fight. Kitshóri is 2 kôs below Chilas and is a village on the Indus. Our men fought, hungry and tired though they were, till noon and were considerably thinned in numbers. It seemed now useless to us to continue the fight, for we said that we should all be at last overpowered and cut down to a man. We must therefore flee. We, therefore, retraced our march in the direction of the mountains and were not followed up, as the enemy did not perhaps, think it worth while, our numbers being so reduced. The pursuers returned to the Chilás fort. When they got there they agreed to return to Kashmir. As they reached the place where the two roads branch off, [one for Astor, the other for Kashmir] the Sikh General gave leave to Jabar Khan, who took his prisoners with him. All were in great joy. The following is the list of the Sirdárs who escaped the slaughter: Alengir, Habba Khan, and Mír Matta, of Harbenn; Rahmí, of Darêl.

Aladdin of Shatial and Ahmeti and Sir Andaz of Jalkôt were killed; also Azur, and Alahmun of Sazin. Mard Shah Baba of Torr got away. Azad of Takk was killed. Nasr Ali, Hashm Shah, Paulad and Anwarí of Chilas were all killed. They were all Yashkunns. Serrkushu of Tangir was killed. M..... of Somer, a Shîn, my cousin, was killed by a bullet going through his mouth. 500 were killed and 800 taken prisoners—200 escaped. Among the prisoners was Sirdar Rahmat Ulla Khan, who was sent to Jammu. When he was captured, a Sikh went into the fort after his daughter, who threw herself off the walls in order to escape disgrace and was dashed to pieces on a stone. There is no doubt that we were the first to be in fault, as we attacked Astor without provocation and at the instigation of Lassu seven times before the Maharaja went to war with us. I never joined these plundering excursions but my cousin, M....., went every time and also S....., my brother, who is still alive. Once they brought back a man and 6 women to Minôr—the whole razzia having secured 60 prisoners, 800 goats, etc. Thinking it was "halál" or lawfully acquired property, they divided it with great glee and they ate the goats also as "halál," as they had taken them from Shiahs.

There is a suspicion that Lassu was an agent of Kashmír sent to foment this discord and bring about the subjection of Chilás. In former times we used to assist Astor, being our neighbour. There is also no difference in our language. That of Khapul (Khapolór) is different. It is Tibetan;

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 893? AV3 Dard AV3

ready to take a tin containing prk and could scarcely be restrained till "lawful" food was brought to them by my servants. Men were forced to go with the troops. One Hakim Ali Shah, a teacher at Amritsar, was compelled to serve as a physician, a post to which he had no other claim, except that his name happened to be "Hakim." I rescued him. A virulent fever was destroying the troops at Gilgit, who, even after the siege of the fort had been raised, were able to be shot down by prowlers from the tribes within a few yards of the fort. I ordered the fort, etc., to be cleaned and, although myself in danger of life from my Kashmir friends, if not from the tribes, I insisted on my orders being obeyed, the assumption of an authoritative tone being often a traveller's only chance of safety among Asiatics. I distributed medicine among the troops and was afterwards told in Durbar by the Maharajah that some medicine which I had sent to Wazir Zoraweru, who was then on his Dureyl expedition, had saved his life.

Since then, the Dards have made the acquaintance of diseases for which there was not even a name in 1866. I refer chiefly to cholera and syphilis, which Kashmiri and Indian troops have introduced. Simultaneously, the indigenous methods of treatment which are full of lessons for the impartial learner, are dying out. Industrial handicrafts, historical superstitions or reminiscences, national feasts which existed in 1866 exist no longer, and what exists now will soon vanish before the monotony of orthodox Muhammadanism and the vulgarity of so-called European civilization. "*Und der Götter bunt Gewimmel, Hat sogleich das stille Haus geleert.*" The fairies and prophetesses of Dardistan are silent, the Tham of Hunza no longer brings down rain, the family axes are broken, the genealogists have been destroyed, and the sacred drum is heard no longer. The quaint computations of age, of months, seasons, years and half-years, and the strange observations of shadows thrown at various times are dying out or are already dead. Worse than all for enquiry into ancient human history, the languages which contain the words of "*what once was*" are being flooded by foreign dialects, and what may survive will no longer appeal to the national understanding. This result is most lamentable as regards Hunza, where the oldest human speech still showed elementary processes of development. I fear that my attempt to commit for the first time, to writing, in an adapted *Persian* character, the Khajuná language, has only been followed in a document of honour which the venerable Chief of Nagyr sent me some years ago. Already do some European writers call him and his people "ignorant" when their own ignorance is alone deserving of censure. I deeply regret that the friendship of so many Dard Chiefs for me has made them unsuspicious of Europeans, and may have thus indirectly led to the loss of their independence, but I rejoice that for over twenty-five years I have not attracted the European adventurer to Dardistan by saying anything about Pliny's "*fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ*," except in Khajuná Ethnographical Dialogues in the "Hunza-Nagyr Handbook," which exploiters were not likely to read. Now others have published the fact, but not the accompanying risks.

As Kandiá is learned, Nagyr pious, Chilás puritanical, and all true Dard tribes essentially peaceful and virtuously republican, so, no doubt, Hunza was the country of free love and of raiding, that had ceased in 1865, which *we* practically revived (see Appendix I.). I doubt, however, whether

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

000 and reached next day *Ganagar Sirkel Jalkol*, where we halted for eight or nine days. In this place the sun is seen only three or four times a year, when all the dogs of the village, thinking him an intruding stranger, begin to bark at him. Burhanuddin, having recovered there, went back to his home, and I, with the other companion, proceeded to the Punjab, and passing through the territory of a chief, named *Shálkhan*, entered the British dominions. On arriving at Lahore we were told that Dr. L. was not there, and my companion, too impatient to wait, went down to Rampur, and I stayed at Lahore." He then gave an account of—

THE KOHISTÁN (OR MOUNTAINOUS COUNTRY).

(A DIFFERENT COUNTRY FROM ONE OF THE SAME NAME NEAR KABUL.)

101 131 *Boundaries.*—It is bounded on the north by *Chitrál*, *Yasin*, and *Hunza*, on the east by *Chilas*, *Kashmir*, and a part of *Hasara*; on the south by *Yaghistán* (or wild country); on the west by *Swat* and *Yaghistán*.

It is surrounded by three mountainous ranges running parallel to each other, dividing the country into two parts (the northern part is called *Gabriál*). The Indus flows down through the country, and has a very narrow bed here, which is hemmed in by the mountains.

361 The northern part, which is called Gabriál, has only two remarkable villages—*Kandyá*, on the western side of the river, and *Siwa* on the eastern; and the southern part contains many towns and villages :—

On the eastern side of the river,—		On the western side of the river,—	
Town.	Name of influential Malak (Landowner).	Town.	Name of influential Malak.
(1) Ladai ...	... Machú.	(5) Batera	
(2) Kolai ...	Shah Said.	(6) Patan (8,000 pop.)	Qudrat Ali.
(3) Palas (9,000 pop.)	... Lachur.	(7) Chakarga	
(4) Marín ...	Karm Khán.	(8) Ranotia	

101 131 That part of *Yaghistán* which bounds Kohistan on the west is divided into (1) *Thakot*, which is governed by Shalkhán, and (2) *Dishán*, which is under Ram Khan; and that part of Yaghistán which bounds it on the south is divided into three valleys,—

(1) Alahi, governed by Arsalan Khan.
(2) Nandiyar, „ Zafar Khan.
(3) Tikrál, „ Ghaffar Khan (has also two cannons).

Between the southern part of Kohistan and Alahi, in the eastern corner, there is a plain, of a circular form, surrounded on all sides by mountains. This plain is always covered with grass, and streams of clear and fresh water run through it. Both the grass and the water of this vast meadow are remarkable for their nourishing and digestive qualities. This plain is called "*Chaur*," and is debatable ground between the Kohistanis of Ladai, Kolai, and Palás, and the Afghans of Alahi.

144 *People.*—The people of this country are not allied to the Afghans, as their language shows, but have the same erect bearing and beautiful features

197 *Language.*—Their language is altogether different from that of their neighbours, the Afghans, as will be shown by the following comparison :—

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

KOHISTANI.	PUSHTO THE AFGHAN LANGUAGE).
1. To-morrow night to Lahore I will go. *Douche rate Lahore bajanma.*	1. To-morrow night to Lahore I will go. *Saba shapa ba Lahore shasam.*
2. Thou silent be. *Tohe chut guda.*	2. Thou silent be. *Tah chup shai.*
3. Prepare, ye young men. *Jubti masha.*	3. Prepared be, O young men. *Saubhal she zalmú.*

There is a song very current in Kohistan which begins,—

Palas kulal mariga, Patane jirga hotiga, Johle johal madado propár asáli=

"In Palas a potter was killed, in Patan the jirga (or tribal assembly) sat."

"The corrupted (Jirga of Malaks) took a bribe, and retaliation was ignored." The Afghans are called Pathans.

Religion.—They have been converted to Islám since four or five generations, and they have forsaken their old religion so completely that no tinge of it now remains; and when a Kohistani is told that they are "nau-Muslims," that is, "new Muhammadans," he becomes angry.

Muslim learning, and the building of mosques have become common in Kohistan, and now we find twenty or thirty learned mullas in every considerable town, besides hundreds of students, studying in mosques.

Dress.—Their national dress consists of a woollen hat, brimmed like that of Europeans, and a loose woollen tunic having a long جاکی along the right breast, so that one can easily get out the right hand to wield one's arms in a fight. Their trousers are also made of wool and are very tight. In the summer they wear a kind of leathern shoes borrowed from the Afghans, but in the winter they wear a kind of boots made of grass (the straw of rice) reaching to the knees. They call it "pájola."

Till very lately their only arms were a small "khanjar" (dagger), bows and arrows; but they have borrowed the use of guns and long swords from the Afghans.

The dress of their women consists of a loose woollen head-dress with silken fringes, a woollen tunic and blue or black trousers of cotton cloth, which they call "*shakara.*" Generally their women work with their husbands in the corn-fields, and do not live confined to their houses.

Government.—They have no chiefs like the Afghans, but influential Malaks lead them to battle, who are paid no tribute, salary, etc.

When an enemy enters their country they whistle so sharply that the sound is heard for miles; then the whole tribe assembles in one place for the defence of their country, with their respective Malaks at their heads.

Mode of Living, and other Social Customs.—In winter they live in the valleys, in houses made of wood and stones; but in summer they leave their houses in the valleys for those on the peaks of mountains, and the mass of the population spends the summer in the cooler region; but those who cultivate the land live the whole day in the valley, and when night comes go up to their houses on the heights. Their food is the bread of wheat, and milk furnished by their herds of cattle (gaómesh, cows, goats, and sheep), which is their sole property. There are no regular Bazárs even

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3 / Kashmir

When a son is born, a musket is fired off, and the father of the new-born son gives an ox as a present to the people, to be slaughtered for a general festival.

Infanticide is wholly unknown.

MARRIAGE.—The father of the boy does not go himself, as in Gilgit, to the father of the girl, but sends a man with 5 or 6 rupees, which he offers as a present. If the present is accepted, the betrothal (lóli) is arranged. As far as the woman is concerned the "lóli" is inviolable. The usual sum of dowry paid in cash is 80 rupees.

A bride is called "zhiyán," and the bridegroom "zhiyán ḷo."

LANGUAGE.—On account of the want of intercourse between the tribes the language of Kohistan is broken into numerous dialects; thus the structure of the dialects spoken in Kandiá, *i.e.*, in Gabriál and Patan, differs from that of the language spoken in Chilás and Palus, *i.e.*, in the countries situated on this side of the Indus. Harifullah, a Gabriáli, did not understand any language except his own; but Ahmad Shah, an inhabitant of Jalkôt (situated in the southern part of Chilás), understood Gabriáli, as he had been there for a time. Ghulam Mohammad, our Gilgiti man, who had been captured in an excursion, and had lived as a slave in Chilás, also thoroughly understood Jalkóti.

The language of Kohistan (as Chilás, Kandiá, etc., are also called) is divided into two dialects, called *Shénd* and *Shúthun* respectively. In the countries situated on that side of the Indus, that is in Kandiá, Shúthun is spoken.

The following pages are devoted to *Ballads*, *Proverbs*, *Riddles*, and *Dialogues* in the Shúthun dialect.

Songs=Gíla. Meshón gíla=men's songs; Gharón gíla=female songs.

1. AN ELEGY.

Fifteen years ago a battle was fought between *Arslán Khan* of *Kali*, and *Qamar Ali Khan* of *Pálus*, in which 300 men were killed on both sides. *Phaju*, on whose death the elegy is written by his sister, was one of the killed. The inhabitants of Palus are called "Sikhs," in reproach.

i.

Rugé níle, jimátyán-kachh-dúkánt,
In a green place, next a mosque, in a sitting (resting) place,
Chá chápár gála mazé, shahzada marégil
In a surrounded fort within, the prince was killed
Rugé níle, jimátyán kachh, dúkánt
In a green place, next a mosque, in a resting place
Sheú wále, bathrí, sôh virâti walégil.
Bring the bier, lay it down, (so that) that heirless one may be brought to his home.

ii.

Rúge níle, wo Shérkot shar hogaé,
In the green place, that Sherkot, where the halting-places of guests
Diri Sikáno qatle karégil.
Are deserted, the Sikhs (infidels, that is the Pálusis) slaughter committed (did).

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3
I

APPENDIX VI.

A ROUGH ACCOUNT, COLLECTED IN 1886, OF ITINERARIES IN THE "NEUTRAL ZONE" BETWEEN CENTRAL ASIA AND INDIA. By Raja Khushwaqtia and Dr. G. W. Leitner.

Route I.

From Gilgit to Kabul, viâ Dareyl, Tangir, Kandiâ, Ujù, Torwâl, Swat, Dir, Maidân, Jandûl, Bajaur, Muravarri, Pashàt, Kunèr, Jelalabad, Kabul.

Gilgit to Sherkila, 9 katsha (rough) kôs* (1¼ miles), ruled by Isa Bahadur's son, Raja Akbar Khan, under Kashmir, a faithful ally, contains 70 zemindars' (peasants') houses on the Yasin river.

Sherkila to Patàri (is uninhabited), over a ridge Pir (17 katsha kôs) called Batrèt, which is a plateau on which the Dareylis graze their flocks in the spring.

Patàri to Yatshôt (12 katsha kôs), road stony and jungly. Yatshôt is a village of Dareyl of one hundred houses, occupied by zemindars who have cattle, sheep, goats, and *buffaloes* (which are not found in Badakhshan). The ground produces much white maize (from which bread is made), wheat, barley, grapes growing to a gigantic size, nuts, etc. There is excellent water, but it is very cold. The people are Sunnis, and speak Shinâ (the dialect of Chilâs). [The Shins appear to have been a Hindu tribe expelled from Kashmir territory and converted to a sort of Muhammadanism, both Shiah and Sunni. They are the highest caste in Dardistan; but, instead of the Brahminical veneration for the cow, they abhor everything connected with it—its flesh and milk—and only touch its calf at the end of a prong.] Yatshôt has two mosques, and Mullas who understand Arabic well. The Dareylis are very religious, and attentive to their ceremonial practices. The streamlet of Dareyl runs past it.

Yatshôt to Manikâl, 3 katsha kôs, a plain easy march through a prairie. Manikâl has two forts, one of which has about 500 houses, and is called Dòrkans; and the other, Manikâl proper, which has 300 houses and an old Mosque. Manikâl is surrounded by forests. When the Kashmir troops reached Manikâl, the Dareylis, after fighting, burned down their old fort rather than surrender. There are many Mullas and disciples there, some coming from Peshawar, Swat, etc.

Manikâl to Samangâl, 3 katsha kôs, over an inhabited plain. The fort contains 800 houses. A great elder (Djashtero) called Kalashmir resides there, whom all the Dareylis respect and follow, although there are many other Djashteros, like Muqaddams (elders, mayors), in Kashmir villages. He is wise and rich, possessing, perhaps, in addition to cattle,

* A kôs is a measurement of distance varying from 1 to 2½ miles, and often depending on the speaker's impression due to hardships encountered or to other causes. "Katsha" and "pakka," for "rough, unfinished," and "thorough" respectively, are terms well known to Anglo-Indians. "Katsha" and "pakka" are generally spelt "kucha" and "pucka."

2: Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

providing everything from popular tales and domestic ritual upwards, and its effects on the outlook of any uncultured people must be immense.

Again a new period of foreign influence opened in the nineteenth century, first with the incursions of the Dogra rulers of Kashmir, resulting in partial occupation and administration, and later, in 1892, by the establishment of British general control in the rest of the country.

There are three principal languages in use in the Gilgit area: Burushaski, Ṣhiṇa and Khowar. Burushaski is the language of the people of Hunza Nagir, and a dialect of it is spoken by the inhabitants of Yasin. Ṣhiṇa is the language of the majority, current, in various dialects, over the greater part of the Gilgit Agency, as well as in Darel and Tangir to the south. It is an Aryan language. Khowar is also of that stock and is the language of Chitral. It is spoken in the western districts of Gilgit, Ghizer, and part of Kuh, and as a secondary language in Yasin.

How far there are to-day any definite ethnical distinctions in the population corresponding to these different languages is an open question. There has certainly been considerable mingling through intermarriage and individual migration, but there are at present insufficient data for solving the ethnological problems of the Gilgit region. When in Gilgit I secured anthropometric measurements of some 600 men from the various districts, and it is possible that if these are ever worked out by some competent anthropologist they may afford grounds for intelligent guessing.

The material of which I am going to make use reached me chiefly through the medium of Ṣhiṇa: that is, it represents the beliefs of the Ṣhiṇ and Yashkun speakers of Ṣhiṇa. To a lesser extent I shall be able to refer to corresponding beliefs existing among the Burushaski speakers of Hunza and Nagir. It is significant that the names of several of the principal Supernatural actors are different in the two languages, for this means that even if the two linguistic communities derive

2: Lorimer Ln3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

121 from a common racial source these supernatural beings have
197 been long enough in the possession of each to acquire
771 independent existence in its language. This of course
171 probably represents an inversion of the facts. It is safer on the whole to assume independent origins and gradual assimilation through contact and social fusion.

197 It appears to me not an impossible theory that of the two
563 great sections into which the Shina-speaking population
174 is divided, the socially inferior Yashkuns represent the earlier population who probably shared the language and culture of the surviving Burushaski-speaking peoples, while the Shins were an invading and conquering race who imposed on the Yashkuns their language and probably took over from them some of their beliefs.

[582] The Khowar in the western districts is due probably to the extension of the Chitrali population beyond the political and natural borders of Chitral, reinforced by intermarriage which goes on at the present day, and in part to political domination in the past, which in quite recent times amounted to actual rule. Punial and Yasin are still governed by members of the Khushwakht family of Chitral whose mother tongue is Khowar.

128 In order to facilitate the arrangement and handling of the material with which we have to deal, it is necessary to adopt some system of classification of the Supernatural. I am not in a position to offer any scientific scheme, but a very rough grouping will suffice to serve our needs.

From one point of view we may regard the Supernatural as represented:—

1. By ANIMATE BEINGS possessing certain supernatural powers or qualities, e.g. demons, witches, etc.

2. By QUALITIES or VIRTUES pertaining to, or affecting inanimate objects, exhibited in magical or irrational processes and properties.

With the latter category, comprising examples of sympathetic and contagious magic, the working of the evil

In Lorimer L-S (1929-34) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

there by the local people till a few years ago, when it was stopped, I think, by the orders of the Mir of Hunza. Animals were slaughtered there "in the name of the Bōyo".

From a story of Hunza tribal history it appears that the Bōyo were regarded as the avengers of broken oaths taken in their names. In a dispute about the ownership of land between two brothers Khuru and Khamer, Khamer proposed that the case should be decided by their taking oath. Khuru, the weaker party, who was also incidentally in the right, agreed and said: "O brother, the Sahāla Bō.in and the Hālasa Bō.in are very powerful and they are quick to wrath." But Khamer, who meditated a ramp and had no mind to be caught in this way, would not even hear this proposal out. "If we swear by them," he said, "they will work us evil." So the idea was dropped and with it disappeared our chance of learning the methods of taking oath by the Bōyo.[1]

The Bōyo now bear the stigma attaching to the gods of a superseded religion. "Bōyo-worshipper" (bōyo ā.ilikinas) is now used in the sense of heathen, pagan.

There seems to be a special association between the Bōyo and trees, and the trees share in their sanctity. Whether they each have their own independent virtue, or whether the one owes its worshipfulness in any measure to the merits of the other it is impossible to say.

In the two remaining texts in which I have references to the Bōyo the associate tree plays an important part. In a statement made in Shina by Shāhzādā Sulṭān 'Alī of Nagir regarding certain popular practices at Chapṛōt he said: "Further they say that all the people used to assemble to do worship to a pine-tree that was there. They used to take a grey goat and slay it at the foot of the tree and a great

[1] I have here accepted the relation of Bō.in and Bōyō as singular and plural which is morphologically quite in order, and is asserted by some, though denied by other, authorities. The word bō.in seems to survive in bō.indrgus (pl. bō.in dārgyō) which was explained as arwāh—the spirits of the dead. Dārg-, occurring in other compounds, appears to refer to a dead person.

2a Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

776 778 782 number of puppy-dogs used to come out from below the pine-tree to drink up the blood. Then the people used to return rejoicing to their homes, and they used to say among themselves: 'Thanks be! Sickness has now been banished from the country.'"

Here it is stated that the tree is worshipped, but that the puppies, who are doubtless the Bōyo, benefit by the sacrifice. [177] The Ṣhiṇa word (ṣhō.iki) translated "worship" means to *appease, placate, propitiate, do reverence to*. It corresponds, I think, exactly to the Burushaski °-ṣhikinas.

539 The other story, in which the tree also plays the chief rôle, is briefly as follows: From ancient times there was a juniper-tree in the garden of a man called Keramo Derbēsh, living in the Dirāmiting territory. It was called the Bōyo Gal ("the Bōyo juniper"). It was said that formerly animals like puppy-dogs used to come out from under it. The people of Hunza used to propitiate them (worship them) and called them Bōyo. One, Bagher Tham, cut the tree down and he promptly died. Two stems grew up again from the stump and a man cut one of them. He became paralysed and an idiot. A man called Māmad Shāh cut down the remaining bough and he fell down from a cliff and was killed. After this people were afraid to meddle with the tree and left one bough (not previously mentioned) unmolested. Last year and the preceding year (1923 and 1922) this bough was still *in situ*. Then a man Yaqīn, obtained permission from the owner (Keramo Derbēsh) and cut it down and took it to his house. But he had a dream in which a number of women appeared to him and asked him why he had cut down their juniper-tree, and intimidated him. In view of past history he became alarmed and returned the juniper bough to its original owner, Keramo Derbēsh, in whose house it now lies, for no one will venture to burn it.

776 778 Here we are left wondering whether there was any connection, other than topographical, between the juniper and the

In Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

776 [173]

earlier. This, however, is not the place to deal with the Dē.ū of myth or legend.

The Dē.ū of to-day is a shadowy and illusive being, scarcely to be isolated from the group of Jinn-dē.ū-pēri. He is evidently not endowed in the popular consciousness with a very definite or vivid personality. Demonic possession is usually attributed to Jinns, but it is noteworthy that there is the expression *dēwē.i dakhal ṣhātin*, denoting possession by a Dē.ū. [786]

We know something of the general habits of the Dē.ū, which they share with their supernatural colleagues the Jinns and Peris. For instance, I have the following note among others: "At the time when the mulberries are ripe people do not eat them at midday. They say that Dē.ūs and Peris throw people down (from the trees at that hour)."

It should be explained that people, especially children, climb into the trees to eat mulberries and other fruit, and that there are often accidents and broken limbs due to their falling down.

Again: "In summer-time Jinns, Dē.ūs, and Peris live in the open country. In autumn they come to inhabited places." And: "At the time when a woman has given birth they do not keep an adze close by in the house. If there is an adze at hand, and if it goes by night and opens the door and brings the Dē.ūs, Peris, and Rū.is into the house, then the woman suffers injury." Why adzes go and open the door is duly explained (cp. p. 529).

It is possible by the "concoction of magic" followed by other rites to make the Jinns, Dē.ūs, and Peris subject to one. There was a man known as the Chīlègi Saiyid living a few years ago, and probably still alive, who had achieved this. [789]

Such general facts could be multiplied, but I can recall no Ṣhiṇa account of any definite individual Dē.ū taking part in any actual exploit at the present day.

In Burushaski there is a word Pfūt (plural Pfūtū or Pfūtants) which is interpreted as Dē.ū or Jinn. [197]

2: Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

In a long story the titles Būrum Pfūt and Dī.u Safīd, the "White Dīv", are used indifferently for a beneficent Dīv, but the story itself must be regarded as a foreign importation.

There is, however, another genuine local story in which Pfūtū play a principal part. The narrator explained them as Jinns, but the story must go far back to long before the time when the word jinn was known in the country, and Dē.ū would seem to be a more appropriate rendering. In this story a man had lost his goat and in searching for it he saw a light and came upon a party of Pfūts engaged in revels. He joined in their dancing and in the feasting which followed it. After the feast the Pfūts collected the skin and bones of the animal which they had eaten. The man concealed the rib which had fallen to his share and the Pfūts replaced it by an artificial wooden rib. Then they shook the bones up in the skin and a goat came to life. The man recognized it as his missing property. When he got home he found the goat awaiting him there, and when he slaughtered it he found it had a wooden rib. During this experience he learnt one of the Pfūts' tunes. It is still known and played in Hunza.

One curious point about this story is that the Pfūts were either indifferent to the presence of a human being, or oblivious of it, and there is no clue to their usual attitude towards man.

The Burushaski Dangalaṭas, and, in some aspects, the Bīlas, are probably to be regarded as female Dē.ūs.

Peri

When we come to the Peris we are on somewhat firmer ground. We know a good deal about their characteristics, and they do still on occasion enter into relations with human beings.

The resemblance of the word "Peri" to "fairy" is of course purely accidental, but there are actually points of similarity between Peris and western fairies, whether or not there is

2: Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

any blood relationship. The name is identical with the Persian word represented in Avestan by *pairika* to which there seems to be no recorded parallel in Sanskrit, but it is conceivable that in Ṣhiṇa it is an original and not a borrowed word.

However this may be, the Peris are quite firmly established under that title in popular belief in Gilgit, Chitrāl, and among the Paṭhans. The word is known in Burushaski, both in foreign stories and as a complimentary epithet for women and boys, but I have come on no Peris in the definitely local stories of Hunza and Nagir.

The Peris of the Ṣhiṇa-speaking peoples are of both sexes. The female is called a Peri and the male a Periān. They are not spoken of as "little folk", and appear in general to resemble human beings. They eat "pillau", as is attested by Pashūs (anti-witches) and others who have seen them. Their eyes are said to be vertical, that is with the axis set vertically. I fancy they have only one eye placed in the middle of the forehead as is recorded of Jinns and others, but I cannot quote authority for this. They can fly; but if cow-dung is thrown on a Peri, or if its clothes are held in the smoke of a cow-dung fire it becomes unable to move. This point is illustrated in a Burushaski story, which is, however, of foreign origin. I have only one instance of a Peri with a name: a Peri called Mādi is said to live on the mountain of Diāmer (Nanga Parbat).

Peris wear green clothing and consider that they have exclusive rights in that colour. Hence we are told: "If anyone puts on green clothes it is said that the Peris get angry and snatch at the man and crush him. The reason is this: the Peris say: 'Green garments are our clothing. Why have they put them on?' and they become angry."

This claim is supported by their human confidants, the Daiyāls. As witness: "Daiyāls say that when a Daiyāl dances the Peris come flying through the air and remain watching the people. The Daiyāls say, 'We understand

3: Muhammad G-3 (ca. 1900) 1907 AV3 Dard AV3

of the former would be Shins and those of the latter would be Yeshkuns. This shows that their family system takes the mother into consideration. 101 619

The Ronos are said to have come from Rajauri, a district in Kashmir, where they belonged to a ruling family of the district.

The Gujars have recently come to these parts and speak the same dialect as in India. [197]

Besides these, there is another family of the former Muhammadan rulers of the country called "Ra." They originally came from Skardu about three centuries ago, and professed to be the descendants of Alexander the Great. The inhabitants considered them to have been born of a fairy, and this idea leads the people to think that their rulers were of a superior race touching on the divine, and that therefore it was necessary to honour and obey them. [563] [174]

The people live very simply, and their requirements are few. Each one is himself a cultivator, a weaver, a carpenter, etc. Their dress, which they weave from the wool of sheep and ibex, includes the *shuka* (cloak), woollen pantaloons, a woollen shirt and a rolled cap. The women wear loose trousers, a shirt and a cap, with a few silver ornaments and shell brooches. They wear on their feet a kind of leather socks called *pabboo*, made either of ibex skin or of cow hide. For hill journeys they wrap their feet in pieces of goat or ibex skin which they call *thauti*. 511 291 286 463

The chief amusement of the people is polo, which they play with the utmost zest, and shooting markhor, ibex and oorial with their matchlocks for the sake of meat, skin and wool. 526 224 411

The former language of the people was Sanskrit, but the dialect now spoken is generally called "Shina," though the Chitralis call it "Dangrik." It contains many Sanskrit as well as Persian words. 197

Such are the tribes to whom the folklore and customs appertain, but they have lived together for such a long period under the Buddhist and Muhammadan rulers that it is now difficult to know which of the ceremonies was originally observed by each separate tribe. 171 796

I.*

The Festival of "Shino Bazono."

The advent of spring in the Gilgit country brings with it the quaint festival of "Shino Bazono," which corresponds to the English May-day. It lasts about fifteen days, beginning in the middle of February and ending about the beginning of March. As indicating that the long cold winter is at an end with all its accompanying hardships, and that spring is nigh, bringing with it warmth and life and a renewal of the scanty stock of provisions which has run dangerously low during the past months, the festival is hailed with much rejoicing by the simple Gilgit folk. In order to observe this feast rightly, the people, twelve days before its commencement, put ten seers of wheat into a wooden basin. They fill this up with water and keep the mixture wet for five days, after which they take it out and place it in a small pit dug for the purpose in the ground, over which stones are heaped. The wheat is left in this pit for four days, after which the grain is seen 776 252

*[See also p. 119 *ante*.—Ed.]

12a Biddulph G-8 (1873-1878) 1880 Afg-Afghanistan-Afg-
4 AV3 Dard AV3
PaKistan

languages, who differ considerably amongst themselves. As, however, there is no one name which will properly apply to the peoples and countries in question, it will be perhaps convenient to retain the names of Dard and Dardistan when speaking collectively of the tribes in question and the countries they inhabit.

The first 50 miles of the Kohistan of the Indus Valley is inhabited by tribes of cognate race, who still speak a variety of dialects and languages. Their distribution seems to show that they represent tribes who formerly lived apart, but have been forced by circumstances into contiguity. In addition to their own languages, Pushtoo is universally spoken, and they present the appearance of a decadent race in process of absorption by one of greater vigour. The country is somewhat poorer and less fertile than that already described. Long intervals of barren sand intervene between the patches of cultivation, the villages are smaller, much cultivable land lies idle; and all agriculture is of a slovenly description. The men are small and clean-limbed, with dark complexions, quick eyes and sharp features. Women are not secluded from the public gaze. Men shave their heads in a manner more suggestive of Hindoos, and many strange customs still linger amongst them, showing that Mahommedan fanaticism is not incompatible with ignorance of the Koran. In some of the more inaccessible villages idolatry can hardly yet be said to be extinct. Instead of the loose ample garments of the Pathan, the men wear tight-fitting clothes, like the natives of Hindustan.

Some 15 miles above the mouth of the Kanra-Ghorbund Valley, on the right bank of the Indus, is the extensive but thinly-populated valley of Doobeyr, which extends nearly due north for a distance of about 40 miles. Five miles from the Indus the village of Ranooliyah, 200 houses, is reached; above this the habitations are scattered broadcast over the whole valley, instead of being collected into villages. The only village of any size is Jarg, 100 houses, 6 miles above Ranooliyah. From the head of the valley a road leads into the Swat Valley near Payeteh, and another into Kandia. The valley can furnish about 1,500 fighting men, and the ground, where cultivable, is said to yield excellent crops.

On the opposite bank of the Indus and above the mouth of the Doobeyr Valley are the neighbouring and rival communities of Koli and Palus, which are often spoken of as forming a single tribe. They were formerly close allies, but a feud, arising out of a dispute concerning some land to which

[i.e. the country of the Pathans - Analyst]

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Pakistan

628 both lay claim, has existed between them for several years past. It is seldom that two or three months pass without a raid from one side or the other.

[361] Koli proper consists of three villages—Honinkot or Barkali,
162 400 houses, Batangai, 200 houses, and Kirkot or Koozkali, 100 houses.[1] In local feuds the inhabitants of the Kohistan villages on the left bank of the Indus, below Koli, side with
438 the people of Koli against Palus. Land is scarce in Koli, and a considerable number of the people are forced to support themselves by trade. A large settlement of Koli people exists in Gilgit, being favoured by certain privileges conferred on them by the Cashmere Government, in recognition of services performed in the wars which led to the establishment of the Dogras in that district. They carry on a large trade as pedlers between the Punjab and Gilgit, whence they occasionally find their way into Yassin, Chitral, and the Punjkorah Valley, where the ground is chiefly occupied by Kaka Khel traders from Peshawur. The Neemchas of the Alai, Nundiar, Pukli, and Agror Valleys make common cause with the people of Koli. On occasions of great emergency, Koli can furnish about 3,000 fighting men.

197 Within the Koli limits four dialects founded on Sanscrit
361 are spoken, in addition to Pushtoo. In the small village of
162 Batera, consisting of 120 houses, a language peculiar to this village only is spoken.[2] In Pâto, Bhimkot, Mahrin, and Jamrah, about 300 houses in all, the people speak a dialect known as Gowro,[3] and call themselves Gawaré, or Gabaré: they are sometimes also called Mahrons, from their principal village. According to their traditions, they came originally from Râshung in Swat.

563 Scattered through the different villages are about 200 families, who are called Chiliss by their neighbours, but Galos by themselves. They have a tradition that their home was originally in Boneyr, whence they emigrated to Swat to escape being forced to become Mussulmans. Being further persecuted, they resolved to stake their all on a battle, after which, if defeated, they would consent to embrace the religion of Islam. They were defeated, but a certain number of them, clinging to their old faith, migrated to the Indus Valley. This did not, however, save them from being forced later to become Mahommedans, but they no longer form a

[1] Many of the villages in this part have a Pushtoo as well as a Dard name.
[2] This I have not yet succeeded in obtaining.
[3] See Appendix F.

~~18~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Pakistan

separate community. Like the Gawaré, their language is founded on Sanscrit.[1] They are treated with much respect by their neighbours, and occupy, as a rule, the best land in the country. A few of them are found also in Jalkot and in Palus on the same bank of the river. In addition to the above, a dialect of Shina is spoken by the greater number of the people of Koli, who belong to the Shin race. 563 [197]

The people of Palus, who are also Shins, inhabit a valley of considerable extent, stretching in a south-easterly direction, and having easy communication from its head with the Alai valley. Land in Palus is plentiful, and much remains uncultivated. As has been already observed, this abundance has for some time caused the envy of the more crowded populations of Alai and Koli. The population of Palus is much scattered, and embraces the inhabitants of all the valleys on the left bank of the Indus up to the Shorai nullah, where the boundary is marked by a solitary olive tree, which is the subject of a local legend. The principal village is Jalkot, 400 houses, which was formerly jointly tributary to Koli and Palus, and has now become a bone of contention between the two communities. Palus with its allies can muster about 5,000 fighting men. 162 361

Nearly opposite to Palus, on the right bank of the Indus, is the settlement of Puttun, which, with the group of villages in adjoining valleys dependent on it, can muster from 4,000 to 5,000 fighting men. Puttun is the largest and most flourishing place in the Kohistan. The land is noted for fertility, and the crops raised from it are of great richness. Here, again, a too redundant population has caused difficulties about land, and has forced a portion to seek a living by trade. The valleys of Chilas, Darel, and Tangir are frequented by pedlers from Puttun, to whom this portion of the local trade has been abandoned by the Koli people. 361 438

A few miles above Puttun, on the right bank, is the little settlement of Seo. This, with its outlying villages, the principal of which is Mandraza, can muster 400 fighting men. 361

Above Seo, on the same side, is the extensive valley of Kandia, running due west and then bending suddenly to the north. From the upper part of the valley, roads lead into Doobeyr, Bushkar, and Tangir. The population being widely scattered, this valley can only furnish some 1,500 fighting men, and the villages in it are small. The people are extremely poor, and the valley very inaccessible, the road from the 361 511

[1] See Appendix C.

~~12~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard. AV3
Pakistan

361 Indus being impracticable for horses. There are no forts in
511 Kandia.

Up to this point in the Kohistan, the people along the
101 right bank of the river—that is to say, those of Bunker, Doo-
197 beyr, Puttun, Seo, and Kandia—speak a separate language[1]
186 and call themselves Maiyon. The Afghans apply the name of Mair to them. Very little is known of these people, who are the poorest of all the Kohistan communities. They combine against all others, and refuse to intermarry with any but their own people and those of Puttun and Jijál, who have, of late years only, begun to intermarry with the inhabitants of Koli and Palus. They apply the name of Dard to the people living on the left bank of the river. This is the only use of this term found among all the tribes to which it has been applied. Above Kandia, on both banks of the river, and in the lateral valleys up to and beyond Boonji, Shina[2] is the only language spoken.

361 Following up the course of the river, on the left bank, the
186 small communities of Sazin and Herbund are reached. They can respectively furnish about 400 and 500 fighting men. Between the two is the small valley of Shatial, which belongs to Sazin. The people of Sazin keep themselves apart from all others and refuse to intermarry. They have the reputation of being warlike and brave.

563 Immediately opposite Sazin, on the right bank, is the fertile valley of Tangir. The people, like those of Sazin and Herbund, are Shins intermixed with Yeshkuns and Krammins. They are looked upon as the rightful owners of the soil, but the fertility and abundance of the land has attracted Afghans from Swat of the Mundi Khel, Akhoond Khel, and Khuddoo Khel, and Syuds, who have begun to settle in the valley. Of late years, too, the overflow from the redundant populations of Koli and Palus has found its way into Tangir, so that now the immigrants outnumber the rightful owners of the soil. A bad feeling also exists between Tangir and Sazin on the
361 same account. The valley can muster about 1,200 fighting
162 men, of whom only one-third are furnished by the three villages of Kami, Shekho, and Diemar, the only villages in which none of the recent immigrants are found. The principal village in the valley is Kami (fort), 250 houses; after
487 this, the fortified villages of Juglot, Loork, and Diemar. From the head of the valley, which is thickly covered with pine forest, two roads lead into the Yassin territory, besides the

[1] This I have not yet succeeded in obtaining.

[2] See Appendix B.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AUI-Afghanistan AUI~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3

101 The ancient name of the place was Sargin. Later, the
172 name of Gilit was given to it, and this has been changed to Gilgit by the Sikh and Dogra conquerors; but among the inhabitants it is still known as Gilit or Sargin-Gilit. Its identity with the Gahalata of ancient Sanscrit literature has been suggested.[1] A few remains still exist of ancient stone buildings, apparently of the same description as the Martund and Pandrethan temples in Cashmere. Their presence indicates that a considerable amount of wealth and scientific skill must once have existed in this remote valley, of which not even the tradition has survived.

162 The settled population of the Gilgit district, which is very
197 mixed, amounts to about 4,500 persons. The language spoken is Shina, though the Shins are numerically inferior to the rest of the population. The Gilgit pronunciation of Shina is supposed to be more refined than the dialects spoken in neighbouring valleys, but of late it has received a large infusion of Cashmeri, Dogri, Hindustani, and Punjabi
173 expressions. The former rulers had the title of Ra, and there is reason to suppose that they were at one time Hindoos, but for the last five centuries and a half they have been Mahommedans. The names of the Hindoo Ras have been lost, with the exception of the last of their number, Shiri Buddutt. Tradition relates that he was killed by a Mahommedan adventurer, who married his daughter and founded a new dynasty, since called Trakhané, from a celebrated Ra named Trakhan, who reigned about the commencement of the fourteenth century. The previous rulers, of whom Shiri Buddutt was the last, were called Shahreis. The present Ra of Gilgit, Alidad Khan, belongs properly to the ruling family of Nager, but was installed as representative of the Trakhané on account of his descent from that family through his mother, on the failure for the second time of direct male heirs.

174 The population must have been at one time at least six or seven times as numerous as it is at present. High on the mountain sides up to an elevation of 10,000 feet, wherever the presence of water and the contour of the hill side permit, the ground is terraced and levelled, showing that it was once cultivated; but many generations have passed since its cultivation was abandoned. The period of greatest prosperity was probably under the Shin Ras, whose rule seems to have been peaceable and settled. The whole population, from the

[1] McCrindle's *Ancient India.*

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Great enmity exists between the people of Ponyal and those of Yassin and Chitral.

The principal place in Ponyal is Cher,[1] which has been corrupted into Sher by the Dogras. The people are, with few exceptions, Yeshkun or Boorish, but the language spoken is Shina. In religion they are mostly Maulais, a few Soonnees and Shiahs only being found amongst them. Ponyal contains about 2,000 inhabitants; the men are remarkable for their athletic figures. The soil, where cultivable at all, is fertile and yields two harvests in the year, but between the different patches of cultivation long stretches of sandy plain intervene, while at certain places the rocks close in on the river, which, for more than half the year, is an impassable torrent, so that the passage can be easily held by a few against superior numbers. In unsettled times guards are posted at these places to give the alarm by beacon fires.

At the western extremity of Ponyal is the fort and village of Gahkuch, which is the residence of the Rao Afiat Khan, a member of the Boorooshé family, who owns allegiance to Cashmere and receives a yearly subsidy in consideration of his holding this frontier post. Gahkuch is a place of some importance, as it commands the mouth of the Karoomber Valley as well as upper part of the main valley.

Opposite Gahkuch, the Karoomber Valley and river, running almost due south from the Hindoo Koosh, joins the main valley. Mr. Drew has described how this valley has during the last twenty years alternately belonged to Yassin and Gilgit. Nothing but extreme timidity or apathy can have induced the Cashmere Durbar to abandon it, as mentioned by Mr. Drew, for it is outside the natural boundary of Yassin, and could not have remained a portion of Yassin territory had the slightest disposition been evinced to retain it by the Dogras. For 25 miles the valley is broad and open, beyond that it contracts, and a road branches off past the village of Ishkaman or Ishkoman to the foot of the Durkot Pass. Continuing up the valley, which bends to the eastward, the Hindoo-Koosh is crossed into the Oxus Valley by the Ishkoman Pass at a height of 12,000 feet. Formerly this road was a favourite one, but owing to recent physical changes it has now fallen into disuse.

The Karoomber Valley, which contains the ruins of several large villages, now supports only 300 souls. The former inhabitants are said to have been exposed to constant forays

[1] Meaning "an impregnable rock."

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AVJ Afghanistan AVJ
AVJ Dard AVJ

582 tional cases exist of Rono women being given to Shins and Yeshkuns when through immoral behaviour they cannot procure husbands of their own class. Rulers of Dard states give their daughters born of slaves or concubines to Ronos, but not those born of lawful wives.

564 Next to the Ronos, in order of consideration, come the
162 Shins, who do not form the majority of the population anywhere except in Gor, Chilas, Tangir, the Indus Valley below
174 Sazin, and the upper part of the Gilgit Valley above Ponyal, and are not found at all in the higher and less fertile parts, till one gets further up the Indus Valley beyond Haramosh. Although numerically inferior, they have established their language to the exclusion of others wherever they have penetrated, and there can be little doubt that they represent an alien race who at some time established themselves in the
● [197] country by conquest. Amongst the many dialects of Shina now spoken, that of Gilgit, which was the seat of Shin rule, is still considered the most refined, but it is much mixed with Boorishki, and of late with Cashmeri owing to an immigration of Cashméris which took place about a hundred years ago, at the same time as the formation of the Cashmeri colony in the Hodar Valley.

582 Shins give their daughters to Ronos and Syuds, but cannot marry the daughters of Ronos or Syuds in return. In the same way they marry Yeshkun women, but do not give their daughters to Yeshkuns in return. In the lower part of the Indus Valley they give daughters to the Neemchas.
142 Owing to this system of mixed marriages they are, as Mr. Drew has pointed out, very far from being a pure race, and it is difficult to fix on any typical personal characteristics. The Shins of the Indus Valley below Sazin are small clean-limbed men, with dark complexion and eyes, and sharp features, of a type not uncommon in North-Western India. Above Sazin and about Gilgit they are of somewhat lighter complexion, but they do not show any marked type of feature.

[162] There is a rare type, which I have only noticed among Shins, which may be characteristic of the race. These are small slight men, with thin sharp features, prominent noses and narrow chins. Mr. Drew also notices this type as prevailing in the side valleys of the Indus near Rondu and Iskardo. I am inclined to think, however, that the true Shin type is only to be found in the Indus Valley below Sazin, and that this small narrow-chinned race are merely a deteriorated type produced by long intermarriage within narrow limits.

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262 by them, not a single fowl is to be seen. These peculiarities
783 are strictly confined to the Shin caste, and, together with
[174] other customs which will come under notice presently, afford good grounds for supposing that they were a race of Hindoos who came from the south, and, pressing up the Indus Valley, established a Hindoo state in these remote regions under the crest of the Hindoo Koosh.

B The next in order and the most numerous caste are the
564 Yeshkuns, who form the entire population of Hunza, Nager,
162 and Ponyal, and nearly all the population of Yassin, besides
197 being numerically superior in Gilgit, Sai, Darel, and Astor. In Hunza and Nager they do not call themselves Yeshkun,
D but Boorish; and in Yassin, Woorshik and Boorisho. The lan-
564 guage spoken, in slightly varying dialects, in these three states
162 is known as Boorishki, Boorishaski, or Woorishki. The term
197 "Khajoona," applied by the Gilgitis to the language as spoken in Nager, is never used in that country, and the old name also lingers in Yassin, which is still known as Woorshigoom. This language, of which an account is given in Appendix A, differs markedly from all languages in the neighbouring valleys. It has, I believe, been pronounced on good authority to belong to the Turanian family of languages.

B In the colder climate of Hunza and Yassin, the people of
144 this caste have ruddy complexions, and fair and even red
142 hair is not uncommon. The Boorish of Nager show a somewhat different type. Many of them are short, thick-set men,
D with prominent cheek-bones, thick features, and thin beards.
144 These characteristics, joined to their unwarlike nature, are
142 probably due to an infusion of Tartar blood from Iskardo, gained during the time that Nager was subject to the Makpon ruler of Iskardo. If the Boorish are originally of Turanian origin, they have received at some time so large an infusion of Aryan blood as to have almost entirely swamped their original characteristics. Mr. Drew points out that the restrictions on their intermarriage with the Shins makes them the purer race of the two, and though these restrictions are not always closely observed, the Yeshkuns of Hunza and Nager would have little opportunity for profiting by their non-observance, so that their dash of Aryan blood must have been obtained before the appearance of the Shins. There does not appear to be any good foundation for Dr. Leitner's suggestion that the Yeshkuns are probably the product of intermarriage between the Shins and some aboriginal race.

000 Considerable rivalry exists between the Shins and Yeshkuns,

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AUI Afghanistan AUI
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D 162 character of the ordinary Cashmeri, has suffered little by transplanting. Some are said to have penetrated into Chitral, where they have since become merged in the regular population. Those in Gilgit are weavers and carpenters, D [186] and are regarded with some contempt both by Shins and Yeshkuns.

D 564 Their distinctive castes are Meer, Sheikh, Paiyr, Lon, Suniyar (goldsmiths), Dar, Rawut, But, and Tatchon (carpenters); all of which castes are also found in Cashmere. They are all tillers of the soil, and the trades at which they work occasionally, such as weaving, are irrespective of caste, with the exception of the goldsmiths and carpenters. They intermarry without restriction among themselves, except the Tatchon, who give daughters to the other castes, but do not receive from them in return. They occasionally give daughters to Shins and Yeshkuns without reciprocity. With the Krammins and Doms they do not marry at all. In spite of the small estimation in which they are held, they form the most thriving and energetic part of the population, while at the same time they have lost some of the worst characteristics of true Cashmeris.

D 564 233 In the valleys south of Gilgit, the Goojurs pasture their cattle on the high lands, not mixing with the people of the country in any way. In Tangir and Darel they are found in great numbers, and they count their herds by thousands. They attach themselves to no locality, though perhaps for a generation the same men frequent one pasture-ground, building rude hovels and making a poor pretence at cultivating small patches of ground; but a very small excuse seems to be sufficient to drive them, with their herds, in search of fresh pastures. A great number inhabit the upper part of the Dir and Swat Valleys, and a few have found their D way into the Gilgit Valley. They all speak the dialect of [197] Punjabi, peculiar to their caste. Like the Syuds, they must rank as a class rather than as a caste.

B 174 D 174 Vigne, speaking of the existence of caste in Baltistan, remarks that it may perhaps be considered as a proof of the Hindoo origin of the natives of that country. Though the Baltis have undoubtedly a considerable amount of Aryan blood in their veins, they must be classed as a Mongolian race; but the existence of a caste system among them, which will be mentioned further on, must be ascribed to Dard, or more particularly to Shin, influence; for it is to be noted that the caste distinctions above mentioned are only found in

[the Cashmeris -- Analyst]

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CHAPTER IV.

BALTISTAN—THE BROKPAS.

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A SURVEY of the Dard tribes of the Indus Valley would not be complete without a brief excursion into Baltistan.

Returning to the Indus Valley, the small district of Haramosh above Boonji calls for little remark. The inhabitants are principally Yeshkuns, and speak the Gilgiti dialect of Shina.

B 564 197

Above Haramosh a complete change takes place in the population, which thence upwards is almost entirely Balti,—that is, of Tartar blood,—and the language spoken is a dialect of Thibetan. Dwelling among the Baltis, in small numbers in the Rondu and Iskardo districts, and in a larger proportion in Khurmang and Himbaps,[1] are, as is shown in the accompanying table, Shins, Yeshkuns, and Doms who speak Shina.

	Rono.	Shin (Rom).	Yeshkun.	Dom.	Balti.
Haramosh . . .	None	8 per cent.	84 per cent.	8 per cent.	None.
Rondu	None	1 ,,	12 ,,	1·5 ,,	85·5 per cent.
Iskardo	None	6·5 ,,	1·5 ,,	A few houses	92 ,,
Khurmang. . . .	None	23 ,,	12 ,,	5 per cent.	60 ,,
Himbaps	None	52 ,,	13 ,,	1 ,,	34 ,,

But it must be noted that the dialect of Shina spoken in Rondu[2] and Iskardo is the Astori, while in the Khurmang and Himbaps districts that of Chilas-Darel is in use. These people hold a position in the community inferior to that of the Baltis, who call them Brokpas, "highlanders," from the circumstance of their cultivating the higher and less fertile ground in the lateral valleys and on the mountain sides, while the lower—that is, the best—ground is in the hands of Baltis. Mr. Drew, who overlooked this fact, accounts for the name

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B 174

[1] The district drained by the Shingo River is included in the Khurmang district, and is chiefly inhabited by Brokpas. Himbaps is the name given by the Baltis to the Dras district, which by the Brokpas is called Hoomuss.

[2] The village of Doro is the only one in the Rondu district in which the Gilgit dialect of Shina is spoken.

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CHAPTER V.

YASSIN—CHITRAL.

FOUR miles above Gahkuch, the frontier fort of Ponyal, the valley contracts to a narrow defile, and travelling becomes exceedingly difficult for a distance of 9 miles. In the course of this defile there are two points, about 4 miles apart, at which the passage can literally be barred by a single man, the precipitous rocks on either side making it impossible for the most expert cragsman to find a way, except along the narrow path beside the river. These two points are situated on the respective frontiers of Ponyal and Yassin, and a small guard is maintained on either side of them; the 4 miles of debateable ground between them being claimed by neither state. Passing into Yassin territory, the valley slightly opens out, the hills on both sides rising to a great height in fantastic pinnacles and castle-like crags with perpendicular scarps. Sixteen miles from the Ponyal frontier the mouth of the Woorshigoom Valley is reached, and 10 miles beyond the junction is the village of Yassin, or Yessen, at an elevation of 7,800 feet. The valley here opens out to more than a mile in width, and the mountains on both sides lose their precipitous appearance. Ten miles further on the valley again contracts, and at about 25 miles from Yassin the foot of the Durkot Pass is reached, whence Surhad on the right bank of the Oxus is at a distance of only two days' journey. For about four months in the year horses are unable to traverse this pass, but men on foot can find a passage at all times, except for about two months in the depth of winter. The height of the summit of the pass is probably about 14,000 feet. The village of Durkot at its foot is memorable for the treacherous murder, in 1870, of Mr. Hayward, the first Englishman who visited Yassin.

The people of Woorshigoom, as already mentioned, belong to the Boorish stock, and speak the same language as that spoken in Hunza and Nager, with only slight variations of dialect. This applies only to the main body of the tillers of

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162 the soil, and not to the ruler or the ruling class, who threaten
197 in time to efface the original inhabitants. By them the local
103 name of Boorishé has been converted into Woorshik, from which also the valley takes its name. I am unable to say to what language the term *goom* belongs, but it evidently means either "valley" or "country," as there are several instances of its application to signify the place inhabited by certain peo-
101 ple, as Kalashgoom, the country of the Kalash. In Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, Yassin is sometimes called Azair, which may be the ancient name of the valley, but is more likely a corruption of the name Ghizr, a district of some importance further to the westward. The people of both Yassin and Chitral are also sometimes styled by their eastern neighbours Poré,
161 and their country Poriaki, from *boor*, "the west." The fixed population of Woorshigoom is, owing to oppression and misgovernment, very small, probably not exceeding 3,000 souls.
134 The soil is particularly rich and fertile, though the climate will not permit of its yielding more than one crop in the year. The
173 ruling family are styled Khushwakté, from an ancestor named Khushwakt, and the title assumed is the Persian one of "Mihter." Reminiscences of the more ancient rulers exist in the names of certain spots, such as *Thum rai*, "the Thum's
643 seat." The present Mihter, Gholam Mohi-oodeen, is better known by his nickname of Peihlowan Bahadoor. He is a young man of twenty-nine years of age, and of manly and energetic character, inherited from his father, Gohr Aman, whose cruelties in Gilgit have been related by Mr. Drew, but who with all his cruelty of disposition was undoubtedly an able and energetic soldier. Peihlowan Bahadoor succeeded his brother Meer Wulli, when the latter was forced to fly from the country after the murder of Mr. Hayward. The princes of the Khushwakté family rule over a considerable part of Upper Chitral as well as Yassin, but generally prefer the latter as their place of residence.

487 From Yassin two roads lead to the Chitral Valley. By the Toowi Pass, Mastooch can be reached in five days: this route, however, can only be used in summer, when it is the one most frequented, as by it the numerous river-crossings, which constitute the chief difficulty to be encountered, are avoided. The pass is a high one, probably not less than 16,000 feet, and a difficult piece of glacier has to be traversed. The second and easier, though longer, route is by Ghizr and Laspoor.

This road runs from the mouth of the Woorshigoom Valley

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AUL-Afghanistan-AUL~~
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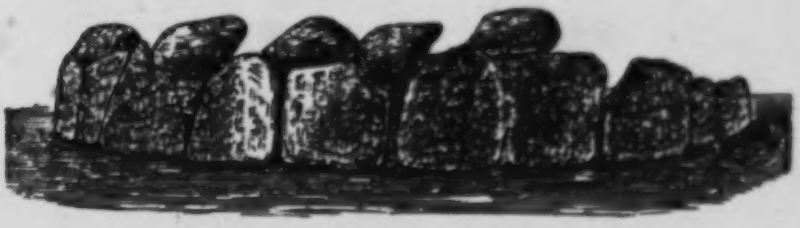
172 perfect preservation is situated on the tongue of land formed by the junction of the rivers near Goopis. Vigne mentions having been told of these circles when at Astor. They are in all probability funeral mounds.



Circular stone sepulchral mound at Chashi.

133 At Chashi the road leaves the main valley, which above that place becomes still more narrow and precipitous, and rises suddenly among the rounded hills to open Pamir-like ground past the Pandar Lake. This lake is 2½ miles long and half a mile broad, and is situated at an elevation of 9,400 feet. It is said to have been formed by a landslip about seventy years ago, and is now gradually drying up. [341] Eleven miles beyond Chashi the large straggling village of Ghizr (called by the Shins Shevare) is reached, which gives its name to the whole district. At Ghizr a considerable stream joins the main stream from the south, by which a [197] good road leads into the head of the Swat Valley. At Chashi the Shina language is not spoken, and we come in contact with the Kho race, who have crossed the watershed from the Kashkar Valley and settled in the Ghizr district, from which they have expelled the Shins. Close above Ghizr the valley contracts for a few miles, then curving round to the south opens out again to a breadth of a mile and a half, gradually contracting again to its source in the mountains at the head of the Swat Valley. This is the most western source of the Gilgit River, the different branches of which, as will be seen from the map, drain an enormous tract of country. The number of large streams rising on the north side of the mountains at the head of the Swat Valley, appears to indicate the existence there of snow-fields and glaciers of great extent.

Thirteen miles above Ghizr the road leaves the valley, and ascends for 3 miles through broad grassy slopes to the Shandur plateau, which, at the height of about 12,000 feet, is about 5 miles in breadth and perfectly level. There

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AUL Afghanistan AUL~~
4? AV3 Dard AV3
Chitral

This estimate does not include the tributary tribe of Bushgali Kaffirs, or the subjects of the Yassin ruler, who is independent of Chitral, though the close relationship existing between the two families causes them to act in concert in all important matters. Both rulers pay a tribute of horses, hawks, and hounds to the Maharajah of Cashmere, to whom they acknowledge allegiance. Iron, copper, and orpiment of superior quality are found in Kashkar. Cotton carpets of an inferior kind, which have the peculiarity of being alike on both sides, are made for local use, and Chitral daggers and sword-hilts are in great demand in the neighbouring valleys. Amongst the people of Kashkar, Chitral is constantly pronounced and written Chitrar and Chitlal. This seems to arise from a curious inability[1] to distinguish between the letters *r* and *l*; in this way Koonur becomes Koonul, Punjkorah Punjkolah, the Lowri Pass the Rowli Pass, &c.

The population of Chitral is a curious and intricate ethnological puzzle. The largest section of the population are the Kho, who inhabit the whole of Kashkar Bala, the Ludkho and Arkari Valleys, and the main valley down to Darosh, and have penetrated across the watershed as far as Chashi. They call the country also Kho, dividing it into different sections under the names *Toori*kho (*Upper*), *Mool*kho (*Middle*), and *Lud*kho (*Great*), and their language Khowar. This is the language given by Dr. Leitner under the name of Arnyia, by which it is known to the Shins of Gilgit, who style the Yassin portion of Kashkar Bala Arinah. In sound it is soft and musical.[2] Unlike the Shins and other cognate tribes hitherto mentioned, the existence of these people in the localities in which we now find them appears to date from so far back as virtually to entitle them to be considered aboriginal. They may have once occupied a wider extent of country, but there is no trace of their having conquered or displaced any previous race of inhabitants. They were undoubtedly the owners of the country until a period not very remote, and they have succeeded in imposing their language on the present ruling class, who style them contemptuously "Fakir Mushkin." They are divided into classes of which a few are Toryié, Shiré, Darkhané, and Shohané. No caste distinctions exist among them.

Above them is a large privileged class, which is divided into clans like the Afghan Khels, and spread all over Kashkar.

[1] The *l* and *r* are scarcely distinguishable in the old Persian.—*Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. III. p. 110.

[2] See Appendix H.

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First in rank comes the Sangallié, Rezaé, Mahomed Begé, and Khush Amadé, who are descended from the common ancestor and founder of the Katooré and Khushwakté families. They are generally spoken of as Shah Sangallié.[1] Next to them come the Zundré, or Ronos, of whom mention has already been made.[2] They are most numerous about Oyon. Below the Zundré comes a large class styled "Ashimadek." Their clans are—

Kashé.	Shaoké.
Atambegé.	Baiyaké.
Dushmanaé.	Shighnié.
Ludiné.	Bardshaoké.
Bairambegé.	Majé.
Koshiallegé.	Jikaré.

The term Ashimadek, which signifies "food-givers," is applied to all of these on account of their being bound to supply the ruler and his retainers with food to the extent of eight sheep and eight kherwars of wheat from each house, whenever he passes through their villages. This is the only revenue of any description paid by them to the ruler, and those living in the more remote villages often remain for several years exempt from even this impost. The Shah Sangallié and Zundré are altogether exempt,—the former on account of their relationship to the present ruling family, and the latter because they are descended from a former race of rulers.

Among the Ashimadek, the Shighnié and Kashé claim respectively to come from Shighnan and Kash (Kishm?), a village close to Jirm, in Badakhshan. The names of many of the others show that they trace their descent from some individual, and there appears little doubt that they are the descendants of Tajiks from Badakhshan, who settled in Chitral at the time of the establishment of the present ruling dynasty, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, whose founder they probably accompanied and aided. Their present position is not, however, due to conquest, but they appear to have gradually grown up as a large privileged class. They speak the Khowar language and form the most warlike part of the population.

In the upper part of the Ludkho Valley, above Dronsh, is a race who occupy the same position with regard to the Ashimadek as the Kho do in Kashkar Bala, and who are also styled

[1] See Katooré Genealogy.

[2] See page 30.

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Chitral

[64] "takir mushkin." They are a portion of the race which occu-
• 197 pies Munjan on the northern side of the Hindoo Koosh, and they speak the same language, with slight variation in dialect.
[73] They claim to have migrated from Munjan seven generations ago, in consequence of an invasion of that district by the ruler of Badakhshan, in which the Meer of Munjan was slain.
[75] They number about a thousand families, and, like the Munjanis, all belong to the Maulai sect. In Lutkho they call themselves Yidghâh,[1] and give the name of Yidekh to the whole valley with all its branches from the Hindoo Koosh to the Chitral river.

By the people of Badakhshan and the Oxus Valley north of the Hindoo Koosh the valley is called Iujgan. The principal place is Droosh. At Lutkho in the Turich Valley there are a few families who speak a different language from their neighbours; but it appears doubtful whether it is a purely separate language, or only a mixture of the dialects spoken around them.

Below Chitral the mixture of tribes becomes still more puzzling. On the western side are the two small valleys of Kulashgoom and Bidir, inhabited by Kalash Kaffirs, who have long been subject to Chitral. The villages of Jinjuret, Loi, Sewair, Nagar, and Shishi are also inhabited by Siah Posh, who have become Mahommedans, though in other respects they adhere to their ancient customs. They speak the Kalash language.[2]

Tradition relates that the whole Chitral Valley was once occupied by Kaffirs; but it is impossible to say whether by this term a tribe of the Siah Posh is indicated, or merely that the people in question were not Mahommedans. At Madaglasht is a small Badakhshi colony who speak Persian. Ashoret, Booroi, Powrgul, and Kalkatak[3] are inhabited by a tribe, said to speak a language cognate with Shina, who are still styled Dangarika by their neighbours, though they have long ago embraced Islam. The term Dangarik would seem to show that they were Hindoos before being converted. The villages of Pasingor, Birkote, Langorbat, Gud, Noriat, Maimeno, Sukai, Nowskali, and Chowndak are inhabited by a tribe who call themselves Gubber, but are called by their neighbours Narioni.[4] Their name would seem to connect them with the Gabarí of the

[1] See Appendix A.
[2] An account of the Kalash language is given in Dr. Leitner's work.
[3] This is evidently the Gul-utta of Vigne.
[4] See Appendix B.

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Indus Valley, but their language differs a good deal. The Chitralis always speak of them as a bald race, and the few individuals I have seen had very scanty beards. The splendid flowing locks of the Kho would make them term bald any race less liberally endowed by nature than themselves. They are no doubt the Gebrek of Baber's Memoirs. Their language seems to link them with the Bushgalis on one side, and the tribes at the head of the Swat and Panjkorah Valleys on the other; but further examination may show that they have only borrowed words from their neighbours' languages. Several small valleys on the western side below Birkot are inhabited by Siah Posh of the Bushgali tribe, who retain their own religion and customs, though they have long been subject to Chitral. These broken tribes all belong to the "Fakir Mushkin" class. In Bailam, or, as they style it, Bargam, are a few Afghan families.

The origin of many of these tribes can be at present only a matter of conjecture, but it can hardly be doubted that this mixture of broken fragments could only have been produced by pressure from the south. The frequent occurrence of the names of Shoghoor, Shoogram, and Shogot, seems to point to the prevalence once of Shivaism, but there are no relics of ancient customs still existing to bear out the presumption that it was practised by any of the tribes now to be found in the valley. A tradition exists that the valley about Mastooch was at one time ruled over by Dangariks, who most probably were Shins from the Gilgit Valley, but there is nothing to show what religion was professed by the Kho before they embraced Islam.

As in the valleys to the eastward, manufactures are less esteemed than agriculture. In the valley below Chitral, scattered among the villages, a number of the meaner castes are found, as in the Gilgit and Indus Valleys. They are called *Ustáds*, "artificers," and are divided into *Dertchá*, "carpenters," *Dargeá*, "wooden bowl makers," *Kwalá*, "potters," *Dums*, "musicians," and *Muchis*, "blacksmiths." The two latter only intermarry among themselves, and are looked down upon by all other castes and classes. The other three castes intermarry without restriction among themselves, and occasionally give daughters to the Fakir Mushkins, who are all agriculturists. No Ustáds are found in Kashkar Bala or in Ludkho. The ruling class recognise certain restrictions on intermarriages among themselves. The Shah Sangalik marry amongst themselves, and take daughters from the

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~All Afghanistan AUI~~
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563 will no doubt before long be eliminated. Greatly as they dislike the Afghans, their hostility seldom rises to active opposition, their usual attitude being one of passive resistance. The Afghan, on his part, penetrates fearlessly into the Kohistan for purposes of trade, disregarding black looks and cold welcome so long as he can discern a profit to be made. Many of the villages have Pushtoo as well as local names.
241 The Torwal country is rich and fertile, yielding below Chodgram two crops of great abundance yearly. This would show that the elevation of Chodgram is about 7,000 feet. The
233 people own enormous flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, yielding great quantities of butter, much of which finds its way into the Peshawur market by the hands of Afghan traders. Iron also is found in Torwal.

779 The Torwalik have been too long converted to Islam and exposed to the preaching of Swat Moollahs to have retained
535 any customs connected with other religions. Like most of the other Dard tribes, they have retained their national dances.

162 Bushkar is the name given to the community which
361 inhabit the upper part of the Punjkorah Valley, whence they have overflowed into the upper part of the Swat Valley,
101 and occupied the three large villages of Otrote, Ushoo, and Kalam. They live on good terms with their Torwal neighbours, and number altogether from 12,000 to 15,000 souls. Their principal villages are Tull and Kalkot in the Punjkorah
511 Valley, containing respectively 1,500 families. They are the most degraded of all the Dard tribes, and, in spite of a fertile soil and abundant flocks and herds, live in great squalor.
571 Amongst themselves they are exceedingly quarrelsome, and are adepts in the use of the sling, by means of which they hurl
651 stones with great force and precision. Exposed as they are to raids from every side, they seem unable to offer any resistance; and, notwithstanding a payment of yearly tribute, they are subjected to frequent attacks for the sake of wringing additional payments from them. The three villages in the Swat Valley pay tribute to Yassin, and the three northernmost villages in the Punjkorah Valley pay a double tribute to Yassin and Chitral. Birkot, Biar, and Rashkot pay a double tribute to Chitral and Dir, and the five Bushkar villages below Rashkot pay tribute solely to Dir. Rashkot is better
563 known under its Pushtoo name of Patrak. There is also
191 a large Goojur population, which pays tribute to Dir. In recent years a considerable migration of Kho has taken place

~~Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AUl Afghanistan AUl~~
AV3 Dard AV3

from Ghizr to Ushoo, where Khowar is in consequence beginning to be spoken. The Bushkarik proper are divided into three clans, the Moolanor, Kootchkhor, and Joghior. They say that they have been Mussulmans for nine generations, and the peculiar customs still common among the Shins do not exist among them. Till somewhat recently they used to expose their dead in coffins on the tops of hills. The Bushkar dialect[1] approaches more nearly to modern Punjabi than any other of the Dard languages; but in some respects seems to show some affinity to the dialects of the Siah Posh.

The Bushkarik intermarry with the Torwalik, but not with their other neighbours. Forts are not in use among them, but their villages are built in a peculiar fashion for safety. A hill side with a suitable slope is selected, against which the houses are built in a succession of terraces rising one above the other, so that the flat roof of each house is on a level with the floor of the one above it. The whole are connected by an outer wall, within the confines of which is a labyrinth of passages, and the site is often selected so that a stream of water runs through the mass of buildings. All the houses are built of wood, and those on the outside of the village have no parapets. Bushkar is said to be very thickly wooded, and the trees are said to grow to an unusual size.

[1] See Appendix E.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AU1 Afghanistan AU1
4 AV3 Dard AV3

good grounds for supposing that the religion of the Shins was of the Brahminical type.

Mention has already been made of the curious fact of the cow being esteemed unclean. Mr. Shaw has shown how the feeling among the Shins of Dah Hanu is one of aversion, and not of reverence, and Mr. Drew remarks that anything more opposed to modern Hindooism cannot be imagined. But the most orthodox Brahmin would consider himself defiled by touching leather, or any part of a dead cow, so that there does not appear to be anything in the present practice directly opposed to modern Hindooism, but rather a perverted feeling that has grown out of it.

This peculiarity of the ruling race led to the appellation of Dangariké,[1] *i. e.*, "cow-people," being conferred on them by their neighbours, who apply the term to all the Shina-speaking people. Though this can hardly be cited as a proof in itself of the Hindoo origin of the Shins, I think that, when considered in connection with other points, it forms a strong argument. The feeling of the Shins with regard to the domestic fowl is shared with them by Hindoos all over India.

This feeling regarding the cow and domestic fowls is not shared by any other tribe in the Hindoo Koosh, except by a small one in Chitral, to whom the name of Dangariké is also applied by their neighbours, and by the Kalash Kaffirs, who dwell close to them. I have not been able to obtain the language of the Chitral Dangariké, but there seems to be no reason to suppose that they have any connection with the Shins of Gilgit.

Till a very recent period burning the dead was practised, the burning places being still called Jain, which would appear to be identical with Chân, the name by which burning places are called in some parts of the Punjab. The ashes were carefully collected and buried in rude wooden boxes, sometimes carved out of a solid block, or in round earthen jars. I have dug up several of both kinds. The bones are neatly packed in the boxes, which have previously been lined with birch bark. In one or two I found pieces of check cotton cloths, of a kind not now known in the country, with pieces of brass chains and other ornaments. Women's urns are readily distinguished by a number of wooden spindle whorls, mixed with the bones.

[197]

[1] Cunningham met with the term in Baltistan, and speaks of Gilgit being inhabited by Dangariks, and of the Dangri language, as if it was the name of a tribe. The now well-known term of Dard has no doubt come to be applied in the same manner.

~~10r~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AV3 Afghanistan AV3~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3

CHAPTER XIV.

DARDISTAN.

IN the Appendix I have given lists of words of ten languages spoken in the country lying south of the Hindoo Koosh, which has been included in the general name of Dardistan. With three of these vocabularies, I have endeavoured to give sketches of the grammar of three languages, which appear to me to represent three different types. These, from the circumstances under which I gathered the information, and from the fact that I have refrained from giving any forms of which I could not be tolerably certain, are necessarily incomplete; but, in the hands of a skilled philologist, they will probably help to throw light on the ethnological affinities of the different tribes mentioned in this volume. Those alone who have made the experiment can fully realise the difficulty of extracting the grammatical forms of a strange language from uneducated men, frequently through the medium of an interpreter who is himself ignorant of grammar.

It may be well here to mention a few of the most obvious features in the languages given.

The Yidghâh language,[1] spoken in the Ludkho Valley, is simply a dialect of the Munjan language, which, I believe, has never yet been published. Its grammatical construction is identical with that of the Ghalchah languages, the grammar of which has been already given to the world by Mr. Shaw.[2] Like those, the Yidghâh differs from the Dand languages in its frequent use of the letter *v*, and in having only one tense to express both the present and the future.

The Khowar or Chitral language, which I believe further research will show to be typical of the Siah Posh languages, resembles the Ghalchah languages in having no inflexions distinctive of gender; but in other respects it approximates rather to the Dard languages, except that it has a larger amount of Persian roots. The passive voice is formed by the use of the auxiliary verb "to become."

[1] Appendix I. [2] Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1876.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 193 197

The grammar of the Shina[1] language may be taken as fairly typical of that of the languages spoken by the broken tribes in the Indus, Swat, Kooner, and Punjkorah Valleys. Though differing slightly among themselves, these all grade into one another, and into Punjabi, and a closer examination will probably show that they have some affinity with Cashmeri. As in Punjabi and Hindustani, distinctions of gender are preserved in nouns and verbs, and the use of the cerebral *n* and the soft *j* is very common. In Shina, Torwalik, and Bushkarik[2] the passive voice is formed by the use of the auxiliary verb "to go," as in Punjabi and Hindustani.

The verbs of the two latter languages of the Swat Valley differ from those of Shina in having only one masculine and one feminine form in the singular, and a different single form for the plural, while the Gowro and Chiliss[3] differ in having the same form both in the singular and plural.

B 193 197

The most singular and interesting language of all is the Boorishki,[4] spoken in Hunza, Nager, and Yassin. It stands by itself and cannot be classed with any other Dard language. The foundation of this language has been identified as of Turanian origin; but, as far as I am able to judge, it has little or no claim to be classed as a Toork language, and it has forms which are only found among the most primitive races. Besides this, it has at some period borrowed largely from some Aryan language, many of the gramatical forms of which it has adopted. While preserving distinctions of gender, both in verbs and nouns, it uses them in a totally different manner from any of the Dard languages. The use of the celebral *n* is rare, and the verbs have no passive voice, though in the active voice they have the same tenses as exist in Khowar, Shina, and other Dard languages.

D 101 131 174

Under the convenient term of Dardistan have been included the whole of the valleys lying between the Western Punjab and the Hindoo Koosh, which are inhabited by a number of tribes mostly of Aryan origin. The greater part of these tribes appear to have been gradually crowded up into the less accessible and desirable localities, by external pressure. The circumstances which have caused them to quit their former homes have not, apparently, been simultaneous, or even of the same nature in all cases.

D 101

The name "Dard" is not acknowledged by any section of the tribes to whom it has been so sweepingly applied. In a single instance, the term is applied by one tribe to some of

[1] Appendix B. [2] Appendices D & E. [3] Appendices F and C. [4] Appendix A.

~~Jc~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4
AV3 Dard AV3

101 and the tribes to whom the name of Dard has more especially
174 been applied cannot be satisfactorily accounted for by the intervention of a mountain range, which has been crossed by emigrants on a smaller scale more than once since the first wave of Aryan migration swept southwards, while the differences existing between the Dardistan tribes themselves is, in some cases, greater still.

000 In the first group I would place the Sirikolis, Wakhis, Shighnis, the people of Munjan, and the upper part of the Ludkho Valley, and the Wooditsai, or people of Sanglich and Ishkashim. The people of Hissar, Darwaz, and Karategin, north of the Oxus, may probably claim close relationship with this group, though they now speak Persian or Toorki, and, in some places, have received a considerable infusion of Usbeg blood. The process of the disappearance of a language seems to be that the tribe first becomes bi-lingual, as is the case at present in Shighnan, Wakhan, and Sirikol, where almost every man speaks Persian in addition to his native language, and in the Swat, Kooner, and Punjkorah Valleys, where many of the Dard tribes speak Pushtoo in addition to their own dialects. In the course of time, increased intercourse with the outer world causes the more widely-spread of the two languages to be preferred, and finally altogether adopted, to the exclusion of the native tongue, which falls into disuse. Such a process must be accelerated by the absence of writing.

The people of Pakpooh and Shakshooh, in the valley of the Yarkund River, probably also belong to this group, and remnants of other tribes belonging to it may possibly still exist in the Kokcha and other valleys to the westward.

101 In the second group I would class the Kho of Chitral and the Siah-Posh tribes; further research will perhaps show that the tribes of the Nijrao, Panjsher, and Ghorbund Valleys in Afghanistan also belong to this group.

In the third group I would class the Shins, the Gowro, Chiliss, and other broken tribes of the Indus Valley, the Bushkarik and Torwalik of the Swat and Punjkorah Valleys, and the broken tribes of the Kooner Valley between Chitral and Kooner. Sufficient is not known of the Maiyon tribe of Kandia, Doobeyr, and Seo to determine with certainty whether they belong to this group, but it is probable that they do.

197 One point which is worthy of note in regard to the languages of these three groups is, that while those spoken

[Of Hindu Koosh tribes -- Analyst]

~~22~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4
AV3 Dard AV3
Durushi AV7

by the Ghalchah tribes, that is, those belonging to the first group, appear to be sprung from ancient Persian (Zend), those of the third group show greater affinity with the Sanscrit. But Zend and Sanscrit being sister languages,[1] a relationship is shown to exist between the two groups. The Khowar language, as has already been mentioned, shows affinities with those of both groups, and will be found, I believe, to constitute an intermediate link between the two.

The Yeshkuns, or Boorish, of Hunza, Nager, &c., must be classed separately from all the three groups, though they have now, perhaps, nearly as much Aryan as Turanian blood in their veins.

Conjecture is permissible as to the events which brought these tribes into their present localities, although the actual facts must remain unknown. Some idea also may be formed as to the order in which these events happened, but anything approaching to exact chronology is utterly unattainable.

It is generally agreed that Badakhshan and the upper part of the Oxus Valley was one of the earliest homes of the Aryan race. Their progress southwards was probably gradual, and at first more due to natural expansion than to any desire for conquest. As they came to occupy localities of greater fertility in a more genial climate, their number would naturally increase more rapidly. Warlike expeditions on a large scale would become possible, and each step in advance would be taken with greater confidence. In the tribes of the first, or Ghalchah, group may probably be recognised the descendants of those who remained settled in their original locality, and who, in latter times, were gradually driven up into the narrow valleys where they are now found. In some instances, as in the Ludkho Valley, they crossed the great range and settled on the south side of it at a comparatively recent date.

The tribes of the second and third groups I take to represent those who migrated southwards at the earliest period. Of these a certain number must have settled in the ground first occupied by the emigrants, leaving the more energetic to push on further south. In the Kho and the Siah-Posh, I would recognise the descendants of these first settlers who, after crossing the Hindoo Koosh and exterminating or driving before them the aboriginal inhabitants, remained in occupation of the hill country down to an elevation of about 2,500

[1] Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Vol. II, page 266.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans
BALTI AV2
DARD AV3

B 634

The chief of Rongdo claims descent from the Makpons of Balti, to whom the district has always been subject.

B 173

The following list gives the genealogy of the chiefs, with the probable dates of accession.

	Name.	Probable Date.	
1	Ali Sher	1590	
2	Ahmed Khan	1620	
3	Ali Shah	1650	
4	Daolat Sher	1680	
5	Asad Ulla Khan	1710	
6	Mahomed Ali Khan	1740	
7	Murad Khan	1770	
8	Abbas Beg	1800	
9	Ali Khan...	1830	now reigning.
	Husen Khan (son)		
	Abdullah Khan (grandson)		

DARDU DISTRICTS ON THE INDUS.

Of the country inhabited by the Dards, my information is scanty but interesting. When I was in Kashmir I found the Vazirs of Gilgit and Nager in attendance upon the Maharaja Gulâb Sing, by whose permission they came twice to visit me. As they both spoke Persian and a little Hindustani, I obtained from them tolerably complete vocabularies of the dialects of their own districts, and a less perfect vocabulary of the dialect of Chitrál. The words in these vocabularies are correctly written according to the spelling in the Persian character, which all the Dards make use of in writing their own language, of which there are three distinct dialects,—the Shiná, the Khajunah, and the Arniya.

D 197

The *Shiná* dialect is spoken by the people of Astor, Gilgit, Chelas, Darél, Kohli, and Pálas.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans
DARD AV3

197 The *Khajunah* dialect is spoken by the people of Hunza and Nager.

The *Arniya* is spoken in Yasan and Chitrál.

These dialects have little in common with each other, and are widely different from those of the surrounding people.

634 *Astor* is situated on the left bank of the Indus, below Makpon-i-Shang-Rong. It has an area of about 1,600
173 square miles. Its chief claims descent from Ali Sher of Balti, and takes the title of Makpon.

634 *Gilgit** is situated on the right bank of the Indus, along the lower course of the Gilgit river. It is about 100 miles long from north to south, with a mean breadth of twenty-six miles. Its area is therefore about 2,500
173 square miles. The chief takes the title of Trakhna, from an ancestor.

634 The districts of Chélas, Darél, Kohli, and Pálas, lie along both banks of the Indus below Gilgit and Astor.

Hunza-Nager is a small tract of country on the upper course of a large feeder of the Gilgit river. It is named from two towns situated close to each other, on opposite banks of the river. The two districts have an area of
101 1,672 square miles. The chief of Hunza is called
634 Girkhis, and the chief of Nager is called Mágalato. The former name is no doubt the same as the Kirghis, who inhabit the steppes of Pamer to the north of Hunza-Nager beyond the Kárákoram. I presume that this district was formerly inhabited by the Dards, and that they were displaced by the Kirghis nomads. The chiefs of Shigar who take the Khajunak title of Tham, must also be Kirghis.

634 *Yasan* is a large district on the upper course of the

* In Tibetan *Gyil-gyid.*

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans
DARD AV3

Gilgit river. It is seventy miles long from south-east to north-west, with a mean breadth of sixty miles. Its area is therefore about 4,200 square miles. The chief places are Yasan and Chatorkun. The chief takes the title of Bakhto, which is the name of his tribe.

When Mahmud Ghaznavi invaded India in A.D. 1030, the people of Gilgit, Astor, and Chélas were Turks, who spoke the Turki language.* These Turks were of the *Bhatáwari* tribe, and their king took the title of *Bhata Shah*, or king of the *Bhata* tribe. I presume that these are the same as the Bakhto of the present day; but their language has become mixed with that of all the surrounding people, and no longer bears any affinity to Turki.

Chitrál is a large district on the upper course of the Kunar river. The king takes the title of Shah Kator, which has been held for nearly 2,000 years, and the story of their descent from Alexander may be traced to the fact that they were the successors of the Indo-Grecian kings in the Kabul valley.

The large and interesting country of Kashmir, and the small principalities of the Alpine Panjáb to the south of Ladák, are too numerous to be treated of in this place.

To the east and south-east of Ladák lie the Chinese districts of Rudok, Chang-Thang, and Ngari.

Rudok lies immediately to the east of Ladák and Rukchu, but its climate is like that of the latter district. The principal feature of Rudok is the great Pang-kong lake, which stretches through the whole length of the country from east to west, a distance of about eighty miles. As the mean breadth is about sixty miles, the

* Reinaud's Fragmens Arabes, &c. p. 117.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

T D 174 614

(c) Mi dponpa: It comprises the following two families: Phanba, Kadcanpa. (The Tingdzinpa-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the Kadcanpa family.)

(d) Rab blonpa: It comprises the following three families: bSod rnams phelpa, Bragcanpa, Skamburpa.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spunship*: Mon, Bhedapa and Starapa.

More families do not exist at Khalatse.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of Brushal near Gilgit, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from Gilgit.

The *Pakorapa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of Gilgit. Pakor is a Dard word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my Bono-na-songs, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 21 families which are members of *pha-spunships*, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which has remained Dard to the present day.

Mi dponpa means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spunships* may go back to the Tibetan conquest of Khalatse, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the Dard population.

From all this we see that the Dards, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from Gilgit. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a Mon and Bheda population? All this I cannot solve.

T D 174 197 782 [776]

(3) *Remnant of the Dard language.*—It is most interesting that in one house of the Brushalpa, in the house Gongmapa, a last remnant of the Dard language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in Dardi, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyassi di zha nomo hla zhuni
Shuni bi zha nomo hla zhuni
Sinani bi zha nomo hla zhuni

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཞ་ནོ་མོ་ལྷ་ཞུ་ནི།
ཤུ་ནི་བི་ཞ་ནོ་མོ་ལྷ་ཞུ་ནི།
སི་ནི་བི་ཞ་ནོ་མོ་ལྷ་ཞུ་ནི།།

LANGUAGE MAP OF WEST-TIBET

Plate VI.

JASB Vol LXXII Pt. 1

7: Francke M-S (no date) 1904 AV4 West Tibetans AV4

Dated AV3

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102
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[End Map]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans
D>rd AV3

be difficult to recognize, that is if those who are less so are scrupulously honest! Although they now speak a dialect of Tibetan they must at one time have had a language of their own of which one sometimes strikes peculiar remnants. At Kalatse, for instance, the branches of the pencil cedar are freshly put on one of their *lhatos* at the New Year, accompanied by the mumbling of phrases which they do not understand themselves, but which are usually remains of their own Dardish language.

Nothing, however, can be more strange than their religious arrangements. As has already been mentioned, the *Brogpa* of Hanu and also of the village of Da, which is quite near-by, is a Buddhist, but often in a Buddhist family one member must of necessity be a Mohammedan. Of a similar, but converse arrangement, a most striking example is told. We passed through the village of Bot Kharbu on our way up to Leh. Here there lives a family of Mohammedan Brogpas, but one member of this family must always be a Buddhist priest of the neighbouring monastery of Lamayuru. Now the Mohammedan is only allowed to eat the meat of an animal that has been *hallalled*, that is to say has had its throat cut, whilst the butcher says "Bismillah—it is the will of God," whereas the Buddhist eats meat killed in any way, so long as he himself has not taken the life of the animal. This family avoids such complications by the simple expedient of cooking all the meat in one pot, irrespective of how the animal has been killed, then inserts a bit of stick into the cooking pot, which is said to separate off *hallalled* meat from *unhallalled*, and all the Mohammedan has to be careful about is that he shall not take meat from the wrong side of the stick. Another method they have of keeping on good terms with the spirit powers of both religions is to make members of successive generations of the same family belong to the religion of Mahomet and the lamas in turn. Thus the Brogpa supplies us with another version of the Vicar of Bray story. Some authorities account

In Gilgit as in Astor, there are few social subdivisions, for the people are forced to depend on themselves for most wants of life. The language spoken is Shinā, though only a small percentage of the population is Shīn. The religion is Islām, the Shiah sect preponderating. There is an entire absence of fanaticism. The national character is mild, and the men are unwarlike. The Gilgiti is attached to his home and his family, and is an industrious cultivator. Both men and women are strongly built, and of a fairer complexion than the people of India. The women paint their faces with a kind of thin paste to keep the skin soft and to prevent sunburn. They are fond of flowers, and decorate their caps with irises and roses.

Agriculture.

The cultivation is of a high character. The fields are carefully tilled, heavily manured, and amply irrigated. In Gilgit itself good rice is grown; and crops of wheat, barley, maize, millet, buckwheat, pulses, rapeseed, and cotton are raised, while fruit is plentiful. There is very little grazing land, and cattle are scarce. Lucerne grass is largely cultivated for fodder.

In the cold dry climate of Astor cultivation is carried on to an elevation of 9,000 feet. It depends entirely on irrigation by little channels known as *kul*. The chief crops are wheat, barley, peas, maize, millet, and buckwheat. The people pay great attention to fodder and cultivate the lucerne grass. Cultivation is precarious in Astor, as the crops frequently do not ripen owing to the cold, and there are several vegetable pests in the shape of worms.

Minerals.

Many of the streams are rich in gold, especially those which flow from Hunza and Nagar, and also the Indus above Chilās. Gold-washing is carried on in the winter chiefly by the poorer members of the population, though the work is often remunerative. At Chilās whole families live by the work. The gold is of fair quality, the best being twenty carats. The Bagrot valley is celebrated for gold-washing, and contains many signs of mineral wealth.

Commerce and trade.

The only manufacture is the weaving of woollen cloth (*pattū*), but this is for home use and not for sale. Trade does not flourish. The local wants are few, and the only chance of Gilgit becoming an important commercial centre lies in the opening of a trade route to Yārkand. The chief staple of import is salt. Russian chintz is brought down from Yārkand, and is said to be more durable than the English article.

Roads.

The most important roads are those leading to India. The 10-foot road over the Burzil and Rāj Diāngan passes has been

4: Durand G-8 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

word Dard, and they apply it to the dwellers on the left bank. Throughout the rest of the country inhabited by the Dard races, a block roughly two hundred and fifty miles from east to west, and a hundred and fifty from north to south, the name is, to the best of my belief, entirely unknown. It is a name found in the ancient geographers, both Pliny and Ptolemy use it, but it is very difficult to define exactly the limits occupied by the tribes to whom the name was applied. It is perhaps safe to conclude that the whole of the mountainous portion of the Indus valley from the plains of India to the source of the great river, was held to be occupied by tribes so called.

Who the Dards were originally is a most puzzling question, and one for the trained ethnologist and philologist rather than for the plain soldier. However, following Leitner, Drew, and Biddulph,* who made a special study of the question, it is possible to arrive at certain broad principles, which is all that the general reader requires. The Dard races may be put down as largely Aryan, and the position now held by the different classes and languages points unerringly to waves of conquest. The mass of the population of Chitral are the Kho, speaking Khowar, and they probably represent the earliest wave of invasion which swept into Chitral from the north over the passes of the Hindu-Kush. So remote is their antiquity that they may fairly be considered aboriginal. They owned the whole of

* Leitner: "Dardistan." 1
Drew: "Jammoo and Kashmir Territories." 2
Biddulph: "Tribes of the Hindu-Kush." 3

1 [See 1: Leitner in AV3 Dard file -- Analyst] 2 [See 1: Drew in AV1 Kashmir file -- Analyst] 3 [See 1: Biddulph, AV3 Dard file -- Analyst]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

174 the proportions in which the main castes occupy the country, that the later waves of Dard invasion rolled in succession up the Indus valley from the plains of the Punjab, penetrating into the side valleys as the tide rose, and either completely submerging the aborigines, or else driving them and the wrecks of previous waves into the inmost recesses of the hills. The first of these waves must have been Yeshkun, the second Shin. There are no less than eleven 197 different languages and dialects spoken in Dardistan, and their distribution confirms the above view. Putting aside eight of the dialects, and taking the northern half of the country under discussion, you find Khowar generally spoken in Chitral; Burishki, the language of the Yeshkuns, spoken in the inaccessible Hunza, Nagar, and Yasin valleys; Shina, the language of the Shins, in the Gilgit, Astor, 162 Punyal, and Ghizr valleys. Roughly speaking, the proportion of Shins to the whole population falls from ninety-five per cent. at Koli, in the Lower Indus valley, to thirty-five per cent. at Gilgit. In Nagar, the Shins are about twenty per cent.; in Hunza, five per cent. of the population. The Yeshkuns are in inverse ratio. In Yasin, almost the entire population; in Hunza, eighty per cent.; in Nagar, sixty per cent.; in the side valleys of Astor and Sai seventy-eight and sixty-five per cent. of the people are Yeshkuns, driven up the valleys by the advancing Shins. The numbers generally go falling as the Indus valley is descended, until at Koli you find perhaps only four per cent. of the inhabitants are Yeshkun. In Chitral you find neither Shin nor Yeshkun; the waves had spent